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#### EX PARTE—TO BE FILED UNDER SEAL—NOT FOR FOIA OR PUBLIC RELEASE

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY and KENNETH P. VOGEL,

Plaintiffs,

- versus -

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,

Defendant.

No. 18 Civ. 2095 (LAK) (SDA)

#### EX PARTE DECLARATION OF PATRICK N. FINDLAY

- I, Patrick N. Findlay, declare as follows:
- 1. As more fully-explained in my public declaration ("Public Declaration"), executed November 9, 2018, which I expect to be filed simultaneously with this declaration, I am the Acting Chief and Special Counsel of the Office of Strategy Management and Development ("OSMD") of the National Security Division ("NSD" or "the Division") of the United States Department of Justice ("DOJ" or "the Department"). Among other responsibilities, in my capacity as the Acting Chief of OSMD, I serve as the Acting Director of the Freedom of Information Act and Declassification Unit ("NSD FOIA"), which is responsible for responding to requests for access to NSD records and information pursuant to the *Freedom of Information Act* ("FOIA"), codified at 5 U.S.C. § 552, and the *Privacy Act of 1974*.
- 2. The statements in this declaration are based on my personal familiarity with the FOIA requests and related information and upon information provided to me by various

  Department of Justice ("DOJ") colleagues overseeing or participating in the investigations

discussed herein. Where information relates to a specific investigation, that information has been reviewed for accuracy by one or more individuals assigned to that investigation.

- 3. In addition to the reasons discussed in my Public Declaration, as elaborated below, release of the withheld records could reasonably be expected to interfere with not been officially disclosed or acknowledged by the Department of Justice.
- 4. Through each of plaintiffs' three FOIA requests NSD received, plaintiffs requested certain internal and external correspondence related to four groups of entities and individuals (collectively, "persons")<sup>1</sup> from the FARA Unit: (A) the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine and its employees, representatives and officials ("Group A"), (B) the Ukrainian Party of Regions and its employees, representatives and officials ("Group B"), (C) Inovo BV and Flynn Intel Group and their employees, representatives, and officials, and (D) the Human Rights Accountability Global Initiative Foundation and Prevezon Holdings and their employees, officials, or representatives.

#### **BACKGROUND**

#### A. Groups A and B

5. Release of FARA Unit records relating to the individuals or entities enumerated in groups A and B ("group A/B enumerated persons") would be reasonably likely to interfere with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Because in their FOIA requests at issue here plaintiffs seek records related to both corporate entities and individuals, I use the term "persons" in this declaration to refer to both natural and corporate persons. When describing the persons specifically identified in the FOIA requests and complaint as belonging to a particular group, I use the term "enumerated persons."

6. With respect to Group A in the FOIA requests, plaintiffs specifically seek correspondence related to:

The European Centre for a Modern Ukraine and its employees, representatives or officials, including Ina Kirsch and employees, officials or representatives of DMP International, Podesta Group, Mercury Public Affairs/dba Mercury/ Clark & Weinstock and Skadden Arps Slate Meagher & Flom, related to the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine's activities in the U.S. The requests sought copies of correspondence related to these companies and individuals sent or received between February 2015 and the present.

Complaint ¶ 14.a & Exs. A-D.

7. With respect to Group B in the FOIA requests, plaintiffs specifically seek correspondence related to:

The Ukrainian Party of Regions, and its employees, officials or representatives, including employees, representatives or officials of DMP International and Skadden Arps Slate Meagher & Flom. The requests sought copies of correspondence related to these companies and individuals sent or received between February 2015 and the present.

Complaint ¶ 14.b & Exs. A-D.

- 8. The Special Counsel's Office ("SCO") at DOJ has prosecuted Paul Manafort and Richard Gates (owner and employee, respectively, of Manafort's consulting firm, DMP International, or "DMI"), for various criminal offenses, including failure to register as a foreign agent in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act ("FARA"), 22 U.S.C. §§ 611 et seq.
- 9. The FARA conduct for which Manafort and Gates were prosecuted and pleaded guilty relates to DMI's lobbying and public relations work in the United States on behalf of the government of Ukraine; its then-president, Viktor F. Yanukovych; and two Ukrainian political parties, the Party of Regions and the Opposition Bloc. *See* Manafort Statement of Offense ("Manafort Statement") ¶ 2, *United States v. Manafort*, Criminal No. 17-201-1 (ABJ) (D.D.C.)

(Sept. 14, 2018), available at <a href="https://www.justice.gov/file/1094156/download">https://www.justice.gov/file/1094156/download</a> (visited Nov. 9, 2018).

10. According to Gates' Statement of Offense;

[I]n or about 2012 Manafort and others obtained the approval of Ukraine President Yanukovych to implement a global lobbying strategy to promote Ukraine's interests, including entry into the European Union. . . . Thereafter, DMI, through Manafort, and with the assistance of GATES, worked with various entities and people to lobby in the United States, among other locations. As part of this scheme, the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine (the Centre) was set up by the Government of Ukraine to coordinate lobbying principally in Europe, as well as to act as the ostensible client for two lobbying firms in the United States. The Centre reported to Ukraine Party of Regions member, and Ukraine First Vice Prime Minister, Andriy Klyuyev. The Centre largely oversaw European lobbying and Manafort and GATES generally oversaw the work of lobbyists in the United States.

Gates Statement of Offense ("Gates Statement") ¶ 7, *United States v. Gates*, Criminal No. 17-201-2 (ABJ) (D.D.C.) (Feb. 23, 2018), *available at* <a href="https://www.justice.gov/file/1038806/download">https://www.justice.gov/file/1038806/download</a> (visited Nov. 9, 2018).

11. Thus, although in their FOIA requests plaintiffs list two separate groups of persons (one relating to the Centre, and one relating to the Party of Regions), the government understands that the Centre was an agent for the Party of Regions, and correspondence related to one is related to the other. In evaluating the applicability of FOIA exemption 7(A), the government has therefore treated groups A and B as a single unit.

12.

14. Releasing the requested records related to group A and B enumerated persons		
could reasonably be expected to harm as detailed below.		
B. Group C		
15. Release of FARA Unit records relating to the persons enumerated in group C		
("group C enumerated persons") would be reasonably likely to interfere with		
16. With respect to Group C in the FOIA requests, plaintiffs specifically seek		
correspondence related to		
Inovo BV, and its employees, officials or representatives, including Ekim Alptekin, and employees, officials or representatives of Flynn Intel Group. The requests sought copies of correspondence related to these companies and individuals sent or received between June 2016 and the present.		
Complaint ¶ 14.c.		
17. Flynn has pleaded guilty to making false statements to the FBI and making false		
statements or omissions in FARA filings with DOJ on behalf of himself and his company, Flynn		
Intel Group ("FIG"). This matter is public.		

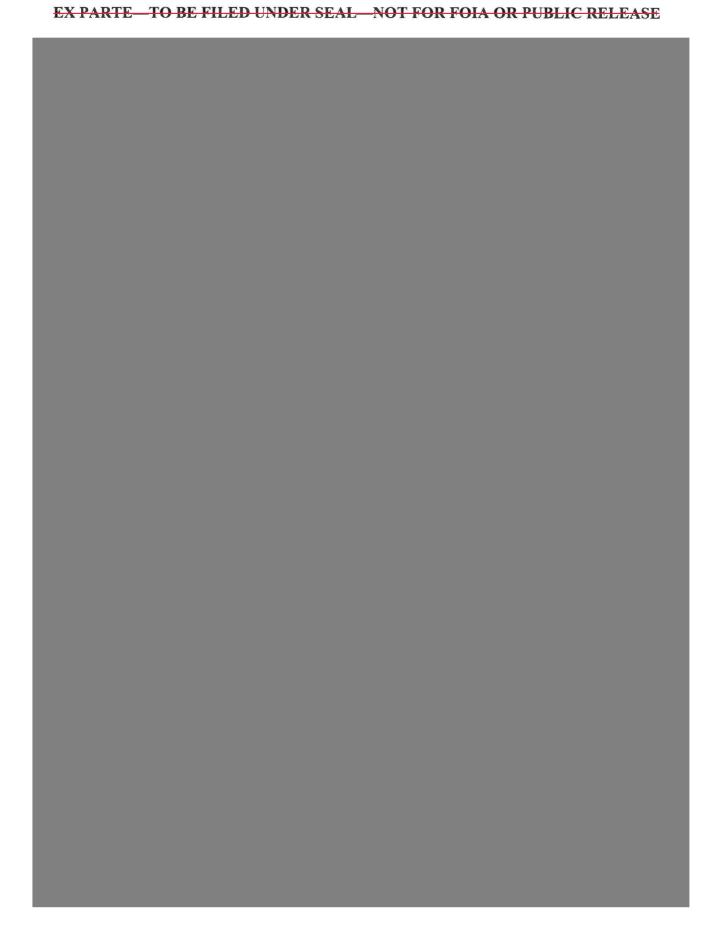
19. Releasing the requested records related to group C enumerated persons could
reasonably be expected to harm .
C. Group D
20. Release of FARA Unit records relating to the individuals or entities enumerated in
group D ("group D enumerated persons") would be reasonably likely to interfere with
21. With respect to Group D in the FOIA requests, plaintiffs specifically seek
correspondence related to
The Human Rights Accountability Global Initiative Foundation and/or Prevezon Holdings, and their employees, officials or representatives, including Rinat Akhmetshin, Robert Arakelian, Chris Cooper, Mark Cymrot, Ron Dellums, Howard Schweitzer, Glenn Simpson and employees, officials or representatives of Baker Hostetler, Cozen O'Connor Public Strategies, Fusion GPS and Potomac Square Group. The requests sought copies of correspondence related to these companies and individuals sent or received between June 2015 and the present.
Complaint ¶ 14.d & Exs. A-D.

23. Releasing the requested records related to group D persons could reasonably be
expected to harm
WITHHOLDINGS
24. The records that the government has withheld pursuant to exemption 7(A) include
the following categories: (1) correspondence between DOJ and enumerated persons or their
representatives,
, as well as exhibits to the Hermitage Capital Management complaint ("external
correspondence"); (2) internal emails among DOJ employees that include substantive discussion
of enumerated persons ("internal correspondence"); (3) other internal emails among DOJ
employees—which provide only links to or forwards of public press accounts of enumerated
persons without additional discussion of those press accounts ("news distributions"); and (4) tens
of thousands of individual records contained on a DVD
. As described below, release of each category could
reasonably be expected to interfere with one or more of the above-described enforcement
proceedings, and all categories of records have therefore been withheld in full pursuant to
FOIA's exemption 7(A).

A. External Correspondence	
	,

29.	Premature revelation of the existence of a criminal investigation can harm the		
investigation	in many ways. For example, witnesses, subjects or targets may destroy relevant		
records. They	records. They may also flee.		
	Witnesses, subjects or targets		
may also attempt to coordinate their actions or their testimony in an effort to defeat criminal			
prosecution.			
30.	In this case, the individuals who were communicating (including through counsel)		
with DOJ's F	ARA Unit will know of these communications, and the principals of organizations		
that communi	icated with DOJ may also have knowledge of the communications.		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> If CES believes a willful violation of FARA has occurred, CES (though not the FARA Unit in particular) will partner with the appropriate U.S. Attorney's Office and the FBI to open a criminal investigation. Similarly, if CES believes a significant violation of FARA has occurred for which a civil injunctive remedy is appropriate, it will file such an action in the appropriate U.S. district court with the assistance of the local U.S. Attorney's Office.



#### b. Group C

- 36. The government withheld two pages of records consisting of correspondence between DOJ and attorneys for Flynn and FIG pursuant to exemption 7(A). These records consist of a letter sent by counsel for Flynn and FIG to the FARA Unit making representations about Flynn's and FIG's activities in relation to the government of Turkey. This correspondence is listed in the Vaughn index as document category 2.
  - 37. Release of the letter could reasonably be expected to harm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This Declaration and the Public Declaration address only exemption 7(A). Though not described more here, I note that, for the Hermitage exhibits in particular, the government also asserts exemption 7(F), because their release "could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety" of individuals

#### **B.** Internal Correspondence

39. The withheld records also include internal correspondence among employees of the FARA Unit and NSD relating to

These records form a portion of the records listed in the Vaughn index as document category 6.

- 40. The FOIA requests seek records from the FARA Unit. As discussed further above in paragraph 28, the FARA Unit does not itself pursue criminal charges; instead, its role is to conduct administrative enforcement of FARA's requirements. However, the FARA Unit does refer matters elsewhere in CES for criminal and civil enforcement. Additionally, CES or others in NSD, in turn, consult with FARA Unit staff about criminal investigations which implicate FARA.
- 41. The internal communications withheld pursuant to exemption 7(A) include, for example, deliberations about whether DOJ should look into enumerated persons' potential requirement or failure to register under FARA; discussions of what information to request from specific enumerated persons; circulations for review or comment of draft correspondence with enumerated persons; discussions about information that enumerated persons provided to DOJ, and what additional steps might be warranted; discussions about developments in the news and their potential impact on existing or anticipated FARA registration requests; discussions of how DOJ should respond to requests for information from Congress about its FARA registration practices and its handling of matters relating to specific enumerated persons; discussions of the

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relevance of past FARA Unit correspondence or practices to subsequent criminal investigations; and other similar topics.<sup>4</sup>

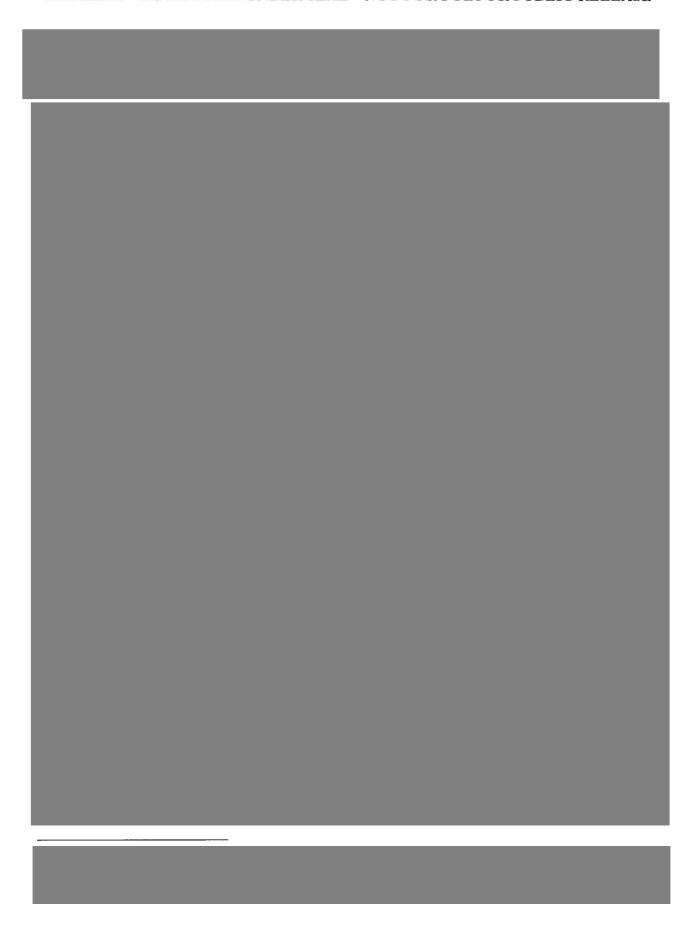
42. Some of the substantive internal communications also have attachments. The search that DOJ conducted yielded native-format Outlook emails with native-format attachments (including PDF, Word, and PowerPoint files). The attachments include drafts and final versions of intra-DOJ memoranda or presentations; draft and final external correspondence; materials submitted by enumerated persons; and publicly available material, including news articles, public DOJ-created documents, and public documents created by other parts of the government, including Congress.

43.	Releasing the substantive internal emails could reasonably be expected to
interfere with	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> These records (or portions of them) are also likely to be exempt from disclosure pursuant to FOIA's exemption 5, which incorporates various civil privileges, including the deliberative process privilege, the attorney-client privilege, and the work product doctrine.

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#### C. News Distributions

- 48. The withheld emails also include exclusively internal emails among DOJ employees that provide links to or forwards of public press accounts covering enumerated persons. These records form the remainder of the records in document category 6 in the Vaughn index. Releasing these news distributions could also reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings.
- 49. As part of its mission to ensure compliance with FARA, the FARA Unit regularly monitors public sources of information—including newspapers and other periodicals, as well as reports from internet sources—about activities in the United States that may be conducted on behalf of foreign principals and which may warrant further government investigation or action. This process, which is a form of open-source intelligence (or evidence) gathering, is used alongside other methods to determine when the FARA Unit should take action with respect to any particular individual or entity.

- 50. Staff in the FARA Unit circulate these press accounts to each other by email. Sometimes this leads to an email chain and further discussion of, for example, the content of the article or what steps to take next, and sometimes it does not. For the purposes of this FOIA response, the government has grouped any emails containing substantive discussions in the previous category of internal correspondence, discussed in paragraphs 39-47, above.
- 51. Releasing the news distributions could reasonably be expected to interfere with active law enforcement proceedings.
- officially acknowledged, and releasing these emails would raise the inference that

  The fact that the government monitored

  press accounts about specific persons or specific activities makes it significantly more likely that the government has investigative interests in the persons discussed in those public press accounts. In turn, premature revelation of the existence of the investigation could be expected to have the harms described in paragraph 29, above.
- the fact that DOJ was aware of specific pieces of information at specific times could reasonably be expected to harm by providing a roadmap of the government's evidence or thinking about For example, it may be significant that the government has apparently taken note of one public report but not another, or that the government only appeared to take note of an issue after a certain point in time. Disclosing these pieces of information could lead to harms similar to those described in paragraph 31, above.

#### D. DVD Documents

54. The government has also withheld pursuant to exemption 7(A) the contents of a DVD . These records are listed on the Vaughn index as document category 5.

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59. 5 U.S.C. § 552(b) requires that "[a]ny reasonably segregable portion of a record
shall be provided to any person requesting such record after deletion of the portions which are
exempt." Nonetheless, the records described above were withheld in full. Releasing any part of
them—or even publicly describing them in any detail in a Vaughn index or declaration—could
reasonably be expected to interfere with



63. For these reasons, and for the reasons given above describing each specific category of records, all records have been withheld in full pursuant to Exemption 7(A).

#### **CONCLUSION**

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this day of November, 2018, at Washington, D.C.

Patrick N. Findlay